

CORRESPONDENCE.

RALEIGH, July 9, 1856.

W. W. HOLDEN, Esq.—Dear Sir: At a meeting of the Committee of Arrangements for the celebration of the Independence of the United States, held on the 4th inst., the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Committee be tendered to W. W. Holden, Esq., for his very able and patriotic address on the 4th of July.

Resolved, That in view of the generally expressed wish of our fellow-citizens, we respectfully request the publication of the same.

P. F. PESCUCCI,

L. S. PERRY,

EDWARD CANTWELL,

JAS. J. IRREDELL,

JNO. C. PARKER,

ISAAC PROCTOR,

H. C. BROWN,

W. J. SMITH,

J. W. PERKINSON,

JNO. NICHOLS,

JNO. TIMMONS,

JNO. SHELMAN,

Committee.

RALEIGH, July 10, 1856.

DEAR SIR: Yours of yesterday has been received. I feel grateful for the kind and complimentary terms in which you have been pleased to notice my address; and in compliance with your wish, I herewith place the address in your hands, to be disposed of as you may think proper.

With much respect,

Very truly yours,

W. W. HOLDEN.

To Messrs. P. F. PESCUCCI, and others, Committee.

ORATION:

By W. W. HOLDEN, delivered in the City of Raleigh, July 4, 1856.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The return of this anniversary, with the memories it brings along with it, may excite the noblest and best feelings of our hearts. Eighty years is a brief period in the existence of a nation; yet during that time the Republic has advanced to a height of power, grandeur, and renown never before reached by any people. When this declaration which you have just heard, was made, the States making it were comparatively feeble, with no certain nor adequate revenues—no navy, no army, no small and insignificant land, and with little and no power, and their own strong wills and the righteousness of their cause, but Providence smiled upon their exertions, and His word went forth in their behalf, for them and for us. The stern resolve to be free, formed and recorded in uncertainty and gloom, was established in the full blaze of the crowning victories of King's Mountain and Yorktown; and the masses of mankind saw it, and were glad.

And now what spectacle is before us! The Republic now stretches from north to south through twenty-four degrees of latitude, and stands, east and west, with a vast breadth across the entire continent. Its hand is upon both oceans. Its area, thus bounded, is capable of sustaining in comfort and abundance four hundred millions of human beings; its revenues are ample, and its resources are inexhaustible; its flag is radiant with the light of many victories, is every where respected; and its form of government is the result of such principles, and so wisely adjusted, as to give promise, if we are only true to ourselves, of indefinite expansion and duration.

On this blessed morning, from four millions of dwellings—from the remotest headlands of Maine, to where the sun glides with his rising beams the banks of the Rio del Norte and the golden shores of California, acclamations and offerings of gratitude have ascended, mingling with the roar of artillery, the sound of many waters, the hoarse notes of the drum, and the many-voiced instruments of martial music. These acclamations and these offerings of gratitude are the same in all these regions. They thrill the air beside the great lakes, and Europe, where the fame of our forefathers was made immortal by almost superhuman courage, and by baptisms of blood glowing like water, in defence of their rights and ours. And far out upon the seas, where our ships cleave the blue waters, or repose in their strength near the shore, our brave seamen partake of the same spirit, and are with us in heart in this celebration, as the morning sun speaks out, and the wonderful flag of our country, waving before the gaze of all peoples, and kindreds, and tongues. Thanks be to God for this day, and for the deed, which eighty years ago, it witnessed!

When our ancestors had made this declaration against tyrants, and laid the foundations of our government in gloom and earnest, they could not have hoped—confident and far-seeing as they were—that in the space of eighty years our population would be increased to the number of four millions.

What an admirable and fortunate combination of federal power and State sovereignty!—what individual freedom!—what an exemption from taxation and the evils of class legislation!—what development in science, in art, in arms!—what capabilities of improvement, and the element in all that concerns the moral, the physical, and the intellectual condition of mankind! Elsewhere, over all the earth, with the exception of some favored spots, the hand of the oppressor, whether disclosed as that of the oligarch, the emperor, or the king, is still lifted in its cruel and bloody work; that of the great idea of the eighteenth century; that of the independence of nations;—the right of all peoples to determine for themselves their own form of government. And as the masses of the old world, animated by this idea, struggle up from beneath the darkness which blinds, and the despotisms that consume, we would have them look hitherward, and take new courage from the light which burns so steadily and glorious a lustre in this Western hemisphere.

Our federal government, fellow-citizens, was wisely formed, not only for the common defence, the protection of State rights, and the preservation of individual freedom, but for expansion and duration. Of the sixteen new States which have been added since 1789, six—to wit, Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, Texas, and California—were formed out of territory acquired by treaties with foreign States; and the other ten—Territories—to wit, Oregon, Washington, Minnesota, New Mexico, Utah, Nebraska and Kansas—acquired by the same treaties, which at no distant day will apply for admission into the Union. Of the territory which we possessed at the close of the revolution, New York gave Vermont—Massachusetts gave Maine—North Carolina gave Tennessee—South Carolina and Georgia gave Mississippi and Alabama; and Virginia, the mother of States, bestowing her jewels with a lavish hand, gave Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin to the Union.

We know that although the prominent idea of the revolution was that of union against unjust power, yet the States were jealous of strong government, and apprehensive of encroachments on their individual rights. They went, each State for itself, voluntarily into the revolutionary struggle, and they emerged from it shorn of none of their attributes of sovereignty. The Confederation, formed in the second year of independence, was fully tested, and failed. It was soon discovered that the "Articles of Confederation and perpetual union," as they were styled, were insufficient for purposes of revenue, defence, foreign intercourse, expansion of domain, and general defence. In the language of our present Constitution, "a more perfect Union" was required;—a Union, which would combine the greatest amount of strength with the least abatement or concession of State sovereignty;—a Union, which would leave to the States supreme control over all their domestic concerns, while it undertook for them the direction and management of their general interests and exterior relations. This, fellow-citizens, was a most critical and important period in our history. Free representative government was for a time arrested in its course, and many feared a final separation, with all the evils of contumacious but disunited and discordant sovereignties. Wise counsels, however, prevailed, and the present Constitution was adopted. The question was not whether there should be a Union, for all felt its necessity, and were

agreed about it; but how it should be accomplished, and by what concessions and limitations of power. The Constitution, therefore, stands out before us as the great work of that day, and the Union, which it effected, as the great result of that day. As we understand it, or, as we feel it, there could be no further Union of this Constitution should be adopted, so it is true now, that if this Constitution shall be palpably broken, or shall utterly fail in its objects, as the Articles of the Confederation failed, then there will be no more Union. The Constitution is the bond of the Union, and the attachment of the people of the States to the Constitution is the life of the Union. We know also, fellow-citizens, that this Constitution was established in a spirit of compromise; that it is to be strictly construed; and that the objects of the Union will be most surely accomplished and the rights of the States most effectually guarded, by a close and just observance of all the grants and limitations of the instrument.

At the formation of the Constitution all the States, save one, were slaveholding. Slavery was recognized in the Constitution, as part of our political and social system; and even the slave-trade was continued by it to a certain time, the majority of the free States, who were most interested in it, urging with much zeal the continuance of the traffic. It was provided that three-fifths of the slaves should be represented in Congress, and that laws should be passed to enable owners to recover those escaping from them. North Carolina has two members of the House of Representatives based on slave population, who are thus represented both as property and as persons. It was also provided that new States might be admitted into the Union; and, by clear implication, slaveholding States as well as free. But for these provisions, the Constitution would never have been adopted; and as it was, North Carolina once deliberately rejected it, and it was not until she had accepted it, that I refer to these facts, first, to show the nature and extent of our Constitutional rights in this respect; and secondly, to remind you of the anxiety and jealous care with which our forefathers protected and guarded their rights and liberties.

The people of the North, finding that the institution of slavery was not profitable to them, and that it counted against the people of the climate and soil, sold their slaves to the people of the middle and Southern States, and pocketed the money. They did not really emancipate them, as they professed to do. They did not attempt to colonize them in their native land, Africa. That would have been an expensive philanthropy; and it might have been useless, and have failed, as the present colony of Liberia is. They disposed of this species of property to those who could use it to more advantage and profit than they could, and invested the proceeds of the sales in lands, ships, and factories. This was all very well. We heard little then, from that quarter, of the alleged sin of slavery. No meetings were then held in Boston, New York, and Providence, to protest against the extension of the institution of slavery. It was not until the slaveholders as criminals before God and man. It was a question of soil, and climate, and dollars and cents; and just where interest led, there our Northern brethren followed. Nay, more than this: The slave-trade was prosecuted in that quarter with an eagerness, and with a cruelty not exceeded by the Spaniards themselves; and to this day, slave ships are fitted out in Northern ports, and used in this traffic between Africa and Cuba, in defiance of the policy and laws of this country, and of all civilized nations. No such trade, fellow-citizens, exists, or is countenanced in these slaveholding States. The best and the most steadfast friends of the African, whether here or on his native shores, are the people of the South.

Such being the record of our Northern brethren on this subject, with what honesty can we now turn upon them, and demand that we shall be limited in our progress as a people, and that our institutions, which we inherited from them, and in part derived from them, shall not have free course over this continent? The extension of slavery will not add one to the number, while it will improve the condition of both master and slave. Nor will the institution take root and flourish in any territory where the great staples of cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar, and hemp are not cultivated; so that, this regulating its own progress by the demand which nature and commerce may make for it, it will not interfere with those fields and departments of labor and industry, which are best suited to the white race. We may safely assert, that but for slave labor a large portion of the fertile lands of the Southwest, would have been still uncultivated, and the great staples of cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar, and hemp, so largely to the commerce and power of all the States, and which are constantly pouring their floods of wealth into New York, and other non-slaveholding parts. And we may also assert, that in a pecuniary point of view, the institution has been of more benefit to the people of the free States than it has been to us. The financial policy of the federal government has always favored the Southern slave.

South is now submitting, without a murmur, to a tariff averaging thirty per cent. ad valorem, and that with but slight compensating results to herself, for the benefit of the industrial operations and interests of the North. Yet, with all these disadvantages, with Northern vessels monopolizing her carrying trade, and with a system of agricultural finance constantly operating against her, the South not only contributes largely to support the North with her breadstuffs, her rice, and her sugar; but she supplies the world with tobacco, and the looms of all New England, of all old England, and of France and Germany with her cotton.

Gentlemen, threats are borne to us from the North of a dissolution of the Union. The public mind, excited by the excitement of injustice, which has added to the one hand, and the calmness of freedom on the other, determined in the last resort to defend, and if need be, to die by their rights. We are told that the North will not only submit to the extension of slavery, but that they will continue their aggressions until slavery ceases to exist. Good men, in all portions of the country, are disturbed by serious apprehensions. The thought, though it is the destruction of the Constitution, and the consequent destruction of the Union, is sad and painful; but the danger appears to be at hand, and must be confronted and boldly dealt with. Gentlemen, I tell you here and now, as all true men in the free States are likewise this day proclaiming, that in my humble opinion, the people of the North would not, if they could, and that they dare not dissolve the Union!

The result of slavery, in its operations and tendencies, is the conservative force, which, next to the moral dependence and revolutionary associations, holds these States together. The great staple of cotton itself, which can be produced for exportation alone by slave labor, gives employment to not less than five millions of persons in England, and to one million in the Northern and Eastern States. We know that the cultivation of cotton elsewhere is decreasing, and that the Southern States are the only part of the world where it is increasing. Cut off this crop from the free States, and its dissolution would do; and what would be the instantaneous effect upon their manufacturing interests? Look, too, at the production of breadstuffs, to say nothing of the other products of slave labor. The statistics of the last Census show, that the production of breadstuffs and animal food in the New England States, taken together, is declining; and this fact, with the prices realized by the manufacturers of Southern staples, accounts for the increasing tendency of their population to abandon their soil for new lands, in distant States and Territories, and to desert the country and concentrate in their towns and factories.

We judge of the prosperity and power of a people by the quantity of their productions and the value of their exports. The productions and the exports of the slaveholding States are much greater, too, than those of the non-slaveholding States; and the great bulk of the exports of the free States consists in articles manufactured from Southern raw material. Let the free States, therefore, by any mode they may select, divide the Union and set up for themselves, and they would soon find main elements of their prosperity, for an idle, and, we may add, a vicious sentiment. The result would be, at once, the loss of our carrying trade, which is the basis of their commerce; their supplies of breadstuffs and tobacco would be cut off, or burdened with heavy

imposts, imposed to raise money to sustain their army and navy, and to carry on their government; while England and other foreign States would monopolize the market, and obtain the advantage over them in our markets, in the sale of nearly all manufactured articles. Superadd to this, the conflict constantly going on in free society between capital and labor, and the tendency to agrarianism, and we can form some idea of the evils that would afflict the Northern people in the event of dissolution.

Nor could they look with hope to the great Northwest, or Mississippi valley. Nature has bound that valley to the Southern States. It embraces eight or ten of the most flourishing States of the Union, whose productions find an outlet, under a Southern sun, through the Gulf of Mexico. Their immense supplies of breadstuffs, their coal, their cotton, their lead, and hemp, would no longer seek Northern markets, but would be poured into the Southern ports, and down the Mississippi, enriching as they flowed, and adding incalculably to our commerce, and to our means of improvement and defence. Besides, the great line of intercourse across the continent, between the Atlantic and the Pacific, marked out by nature, and destined to be occupied, runs through the slaveholding States. The harbor of Beaufort, in this State, is nearly on a line with San Francisco, the Pacific port; and through this channel the commerce of the East, which has enriched all nations that have heretofore possessed it, may yet find its way.

The solid men of the North, fellow-citizens, are well informed of these things, and they properly estimate them. The people of the North—not the miserable fanatics, not the life demagogues, not the whited sepulchres, not the long-faced canting Pharisees, who groan over slavery according to rule, and condemn it, and are anxious to see it abolished, and madmen to murder their countrymen in Kansas, nevertheless thank God they are not as others; not the race of degenerates and hypocrites, who disturb, and irritate, and afflict society where they exist, but who cannot control it;—not these, but the people of the North know, as we know, that their safety and our safety, their progress and our progress, their honor and our honor, are bound together, by nature, by ancient association, by all-pervading and all-controlling interest, and by every consideration which should have weight with the judgment or judgment in the heart. Dissolve the Union!—wherefore? In God's name, wherefore? Has it dispensed among us, in all these States, any thing but blessings? Does any one here, or in New England, really regret the operation of this Constitution, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

Who can estimate, in dollars and cents, the worth of the Union, which has benefited the South, and which the South, complain that of the thirty or forty millions of taxes which we pay by way of imposts, three-fourths of them are expended in the free States?—No, fellow-citizens. We submit to this, and to other inequalities, with cheerfulness; for we know that what we lose in one respect, we gain in another.

above towns and cities, or nesting amid thousands of groves, still fragrant with the lingering breath of Spring; upon the ripe harvest, gleaming upon countless acres, and the tall corn waving over innumerable furrows, giving promise of a full harvest and abundant cheer; upon nine hundred thousand people, dwelling together in peace, unsmitten by pestilence, or plague—with no regular military organization, and none daring to molest them, with schools open to all, "without money and without price"—with the Bible—with the right of free speech, of habeas corpus, and trial by jury—with a free press, and an able and upright Judiciary—with all liberties and every blessing which rational beings could desire; look upon all this, and then say, if our lots have not been cast in a good time in the world's history, and in a good place, and if we have not a State worthy of its name, and if we are not a people worthy of its name, then let us strive to improve her in peace, and to our best efforts to improve her in peace, and to our blood and our treasure, if required, in the day of danger? Consider, too, her capacities for improvement, and the progress which has been made during the last twenty years. We all remember the sacrifices, the expenditures, and the earnest and anxious efforts of the early friends of internal improvements; and the mingled pride and joy with which we first heard of the completion of the steam-car above the soil. Now, there are nearly six hundred miles of Railroad in the State in successful operation; with six hundred miles more projected, and which will be ready, at no distant day, for use. There are persons in this assembly, who witnessed the labors of Caldwell, and Bartlett, and Murphy, and others, in the cause of education and of Common Schools, and who stood with them and sustained them in those labors. The University was then struggling with many difficulties, if not against prejudice and actual opposition. It is now established on an enduring